2: Mariner F-5 (1806-1810) 1818
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there were not a considerable vacant space left opposite the priest. In this space, at the bottom of the circle, sits the man who prepares the cava, the root being previously chewed by the cooks, attendants, and others, who sit behind him: behind these again sit the chiefs indiscriminately among the people. The chiefs take this retired and humble station on account of the sacredness of the occasion, conceiving that such modest demeanour must be acceptable to the gods.

As soon as they are all seated, the priest is considered as inspired, the god being supposed to exist within him from that moment. He remains for a considerable time in silence, with his hands clasped before him; his eyes are cast down, and he rests perfectly still. During the time that the victuals are being shared out, and the cava preparing, the matabooles sometimes begin to consult him; sometimes he answers them, at other times not; in either case he remains with his eyes cast down. Frequently he will not utter a word till the repast is finished, and the cava too. When he speaks, he generally begins in a low and very altered tone of voice, which gradually rises to nearly its natural pitch, though sometimes a little above it. All that he says is supposed to be the declaration of the god, and he accordingly speaks in the first

2: Mariner F-5 (1806-1810) 1818
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person as if he were the god. All this is done generally without any apparent inward emotion or outward agitation; but on some occasions his countenance becomes fierce, and, as it were, inflamed, and his whole frame agitated with inward feeling; he is seized with an universal trembling; the perspiration breaks out on his forehead, and his lips, turning black, are convulsed; at length, tears start in floods from his eyes, his breast heaves with great emotion, and his utterance is choked. These symptoms gradually subside. Before this paroxysm comes on, and after it is over, he often eats as much as four hungry men, under other circumstances, could devour. The fit being now gone off, he remains for some time calm, and then takes up a club that is placed by him for the purpose, turns it over and regards it attentively; he then looks up earnestly, now to the right, now to the left, and now again at the club; afterwards he looks up again, and about him in like manner, and then again fixes his eyes upon his club, and so on, for several times: at length he suddenly raises the club, and, after a moment's pause, strikes the ground, or the adjacent part of the house, with considerable force: immediately the god leaves him, and he rises up and retires to the back of the ring among the people. If the company now wish for any more cava, Fi-

2: Mariner F-5 (1806-1810) 1818
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now, or the greatest chief present, goes and sits at the head of the ring.

It might be supposed that this violent agitation on the part of the priest is merely an assumed appearance for the purpose of popular deception; but Mr. Mariner has no reason at all to think so. There can be little doubt, however, but that the priest, on such occasions, often summons into action the deepest feelings of devotion of which he is susceptible, and by a voluntary act disposes his mind, as much as possible, to be powerfully affected: till at length, what began by volition proceeds by involuntary effort, and the whole mind and body become subjected to the overruling emotion. But there is nothing new in all this: ancient times, as well as modern, afford numerous instances of this nature; and savage nations, as well as civilized, display ample testimony that false religions, and false notions of religion, act upon some minds with such extraordinary impulses, that they are mistaken for divine inspirations.

It happens in the Tonga Islands, that persons, who are not priests, are often visited by the gods, particularly females, but who are never affected in the manner above described: they are generally low spirited and thoughtful, as if some heavy misfortune had befallen them, and, as the symptom increases, they generally shed a

2: Mariner F-5 (1806-1810) 1818
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profusion of tears; they sometimes swoon away for a few minutes: the height of the paroxysm generally lasts from a quarter to half an hour. These are also called fits of inspiration, and are firmly believed to be visitations from some god who accuses the party of neglect of religious duty, not by an apparent audible warning, but by an inward compunction of conscience. But these things are also common enough in all parts of the world, at home as well as abroad. Some of the natives are such adepts at this sort of mysterious conversation with the divinities, that they can bring on a fit of inspiration whenever they feel their mind at all so disposed. Mr. Mariner, indeed, did once witness a rare instance of a man who was disappointed in this particular: finding himself, as he thought, about to be inspired, some cava was brought to him (as is usual on such occasions), but, in a little while, he was obliged to acknowledge that the god would not visit; at which all present were greatly surprised, and so the cava was taken away again.

These imaginations, however, have sometimes produced very serious consequences: to give an instance; on one occasion a certain chief, a very handsome young man, became inspired, but did not yet know by whom; on a sudden he felt himself exceedingly low spirited, and

2: Mariner F-5 (1806-1810) 1818
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787 shortly afterwards swooned away; when recovered from this, still finding himself very ill, he
154 was taken to the house of a priest *, who told
755 the sick chief that it was a woman, mentioning
763 her name, who had died two years before, and was now in Bolotoo†, that had inspired him; that she was deeply in love with him, and wished him to die (which event was to happen in a few days,) that she might have him near her: the chief replied that he had seen the figure of a female two or three successive nights in his sleep, and had begun to suspect he was inspired by her, though he could not tell who she was. He died two days afterwards. Mr. Mariner visited the sick chief three or four times, at the house of the priest, and heard the latter foretel his death and the occasion of it.

787 Now we are upon this subject it may not be
154 amiss to mention that Finow's son, who at this period of our history was at the Navigator's islands, used to be inspired by the spirit‡ of

[793] * It is customary to take sick persons to the house of a priest, that the will of the gods may be known. The priest becomes immediately inspired, and remains almost constantly in that state while the sick person is with him. If he does not get better in two or three days he is taken to another priest, &c.

[775] † Bolotoo is the name they give to their paradise, and is supposed to be an island to the north-westward.

[775] [565] [776] ‡ The souls of deceased nobles become gods of the second rank in Bolotoo.

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Toogoo Ahoo, the late king of Tonga, who it may be recollected was assassinated by Finow and Toobó Nuha. When this young chief returned to Hapai, Mr. Mariner, who was upon a footing of great friendship with him, one day asked him how he felt himself, when the spirit of Toogoo Ahoo visited him; he replied that he could not well describe his feelings, but the best he could say of it was, that he felt himself all over in a glow of heat and quite restless and uncomfortable, and did not feel his own personal identity as it were, but seemed to have a mind different from his own natural mind, his thoughts wandering upon strange and unusual subjects, although perfectly sensible of surrounding objects. He next asked him how he knew it was the spirit of Toogoo Ahoo? his answer was, "there's a fool! how can I tell you *how* I knew it; I felt and knew it was so by a kind of consciousness; my *mind* told me that it was Toogoo Ahoo." Finow used occasionally to be inspired by the ghost of Moomooi, a former king of Tonga.

We must now return to Finow and his army at the island of Pangaimotoo.

A sufficient quantity of reeds and stakes having been procured, Finow and his army left Pangaimotoo and landed at Nioocalofa, for the purpose of rebuilding the colo (or fortress.) The

13: Beaglehole & Beaglehole E-5 (1938-1939) 1941
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of the interminable religious discussions that are a feature of many *kava*-circles; by a study of dreams; by consideration of the form into which some of the fundamental anxieties of the culture are cast.

A brief extract from some of our field notes will be sufficient to indicate the way in which religion has become part and parcel of village life. We were talking casually one night with a group of men about the use of omens and other minor magical practises common in our own society. Then we asked for the Tongan equivalents of these folk-beliefs. All the men denied knowledge of any. Sesoni summed up their attitude by saying with emphasis and with unanimous approval, that when the villager is worried today, he prays to God to solve all his difficulties. He has no need for magical activities when prayer is the only thing that can help him. The important thing about this statement is not that the villager never observes magical *tapu*, but that he has come to look upon the Christian religion as an explanation for all of life's problems and difficulties.

It is unnecessary to consider evidence of the Tongans' belief in Christianity in detail.[30] Much of it stands in the records of Tongan church history for all to read. All that we do here is to suggest some further facets of the religious life of the village.

Table 14A shows that Pangai has a large Roman Catholic membership as compared with kingdom membership. The kingdom as a whole is 88 per cent. Protestant. Pangai is 78 per cent. Protestant. We have no particularly valid explanation for this difference. The first three Protestant churches in this table all represent varieties of fundamentalist Wesleyanism whose doctrinal differences are very obscure to the white inquirer—so obscure in fact, that

[30] For some of this evidence, see Beaglehole, Ernest, "Psychic Stress in a Tongan Village." *Proceedings*, Sixth Pacific Science Congress (in press), where the attempt is made to show the fundamental conflict situations in the present day village culture. Since this paper was completed Dr. Lopdell has recorded particulars of two further cases of Tongans suffering from mental illness as the result of trying to solve apparently insoluble conflicts between Tongan custom and white economic patterns. The interesting point in this context is that the conflicts have been worked out in terms of religious symbolism and ideology.

A. [See category 116, p. 128--Analyst]

13: Beaglehole & Beaglehole E-5 (1938-1939) 1941
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his poll-tax and went to jail. In her anger at this injustice, Fa returned to the Wesleyan church.

According to Biukala, Hausia and some of his friends left the Wesleyan church and joined the Roman Catholics because they were inordinately anxious to learn to play string-band instruments and some Catholic offered to teach them if they would change churches. Others are alleged to have joined the Catholics because the Catholics in turn are alleged to pay defaulting poll- and land-taxes for them.

The reasons just given for changing churches may not be the real reasons. They are at least the sort of reasons that are considered good reasons in this culture—the sort of reason that the villager can understand because it rings true, even though he may not approve the causes or the results of such quarrelling and defection. In all cases, however, one has the definite feeling that the good-enough reason is a happening that is seized upon to justify action which is already decided upon for other grounds: in all these cases, because of fundamental personality conflict between church-member and pastor, between church-members themselves. The ego feelings of some one villager suffer frustration. He changes church affiliation from a large to a small group or from Protestant to Catholic faith because in this way he can repair his dented security-attitudes both in the welcome that awaits him in his new church (competition for members between churches and faiths is keen) and by the feeling (if he becomes Catholic) that he is acquiring knowledge and rituals which his Protestant friends do not possess. From this point of view, then, it is clear that the four churches in this small village play a dual institutional role. On the one hand, the churches provide an explanation of this world and the next, together with a code of morality. Both explanation and code serve as integrating elements in the culture. On the other hand, the fact that there are four churches means that those in the village who are unusual, abnormal, a-social, anti-social—personality deviants in other words—can find haven in one of the churches when the others do not please. Thus, changing church-affiliation provides a means of solving on a social plane interpersonal conflicts that might otherwise

13: Beaglehole & Beaglehole E-5 (1938-1939) 1941
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become strong enough to result in social disorganization and disintegration.

794 795 554 Changing from one Protestant church to another is also made easy by the fact that the one who changes does not lose any religious status in the process. If he is a lay-preacher in one church, he is welcomed as a lay-preacher into the other church. He does not have to start from the lowest rung of the congregational ladder and then work himself up to a position of higher social status in the new congregation. In this way the person who changes is able to satisfy personal conflicts on the one hand and preserve his village religious status on the other hand and at the same time.

795 798 From none of the Protestant villagers was it possible to obtain any clear idea of theological differences between the Wesleyan churches. Villagers simply take for granted the fact of the three sects. Only some of the more enquiring bother their heads about why and wherefore. Few of the Protestants, however, do not at one time or another worry about the existence of the Roman Catholics. This is shown by little things: when two Catholic boys went to jail for stealing melons, there was a sort of, "What can you expect but this?" look on Protestant faces; Biukala makes the habit of teasing and often angering Roman Catholic boys by making a parody of crossing himself whenever he sees them, or else trying to imitate the sounds and words of Catholics saying the Catechism; Kali takes the church medal that Ana wears round her neck, holds it up for all to see, then makes a few derogatory comments about idol-worship and makes as if to tear the medal from Ana's neck—those standing by approve of Kali's joking while Ana flounces angrily away. These little things are typical and indicate underlying antagonism. They are summed up by the opinion that is typical also of the Protestant villager: the Catholic becomes a good person by remembering long prayers—the Protestant must strive for goodness by a never-ending attempt to receive Christ into his heart and soul. The validity of this opinion is not at issue. It is given simply because it is the way in which the villager thinks about a problem that probably worries him more than he will admit.

16: Collocott M-5 (no date) 1921 OU9 Tonga OU9

from gods of populous tribes down to deities the private possession of a very few. Naturally, the gods of which one is best able to glean information are those whose devotees were fairly numerous. At the best all that we can get to-day is probably only a glimpse at the old pantheon. But this remnant is doubtless typical, and furnishes a fair idea of the beliefs of old Tonga, as well as interesting parallels with other parts of Polynesia.

The apparatus of worship consisted of a temple, apparently in some instances situated amongst trees just outside the village. Too much must not be made of this, however, as the villages which one sees to-day are of modern growth, and in earlier days the population was more scattered. There was at least one sacred grove. In the temples were kept sacred objects, such as war weapons, stones, pieces of wood, more or less roughly carved, and often painted with yellow turmeric. Several fine mats were indispensable, carefully preserved to be spread for the reception of the visiting god in the same way as a household brings out its good mats for a distinguished mortal visitor. At times of worship these mats were spread, and the priest sat either on or beside them, whilst the sacred objects of the temple were displayed on the mats, particularly, if possible, the animal or what not which was specially sacred to the god to whom the appeal was being made. The role of the totem was to act as a vehicle whereby the god might bring himself into physical relation with the material surroundings of human life. The Tongan words used to express the presence of the god in the object sacred to him signifies his "coming in" it, or "using it as a boat." These material objects are seldom, most probably never, the god himself. This, however, is by now so much a commonplace as scarcely to need restatement in the case of any particular people. Not less was the god actually present in the inspired priest. Evidently there were others outside of the regular priesthoods who were liable to inspirations. To the present day some forms of sickness are believed to be due to demonic possession. So far as my personal observation in Tonga goes possession seems now to be always maleficent, but a native connected by blood with Fiji affirms that in that group there are exemplary and devout Christians who receive helpful accessions of divine influence from sources not usually included in any scheme of orthodox theology.

There were priests or priestesses connected with the various cults, who acted as the mouthpieces of the gods, and whose frenzied inspiration seems to have been the really important part of the divine manifestation. There are asserted to have been deities without any sacred animal or other object, but the accuracy of this statement is doubtful. The trembling body, foaming mouth, and wild eyes of

16: Collocott M-5 (no date) 1921 OU9 Tonga OU9

the inspired priest have been more than once described. Very few contemporary Tongans have witnessed the performance, but I have been fortunate enough to hear from a very intelligent elderly chief a graphic description of the inspiration of a priest which he witnessed in his boyhood. This was in one of the last retreats of the old worship, and the wild awe of the scene, enhanced by the darkness of night, and a double row of lights at the end of which the priest sat, looking down a lane flanked on either hand by fire, has left an indelible impression on the old gentleman's mind. Amongst other things he noted the voracious appetite of the priest, who was a Fijian of ordinary stature, but who, under the influence of the divine frenzy devoured a great bunch of bananas or plantains. The native theory is that the inspiring god in some way eats the food. Another extraordinary circumstance was the manner of his speech. Usually this Fijian spoke bad Tongan in a small weak voice, but during his inspiration his voice was rich and full, and his utterances couched in eloquent and faultless Tongan, "like a Belehake," as the native idiom has it.

The appetite of the priest, to which the natives nowadays sometimes make caustic reference, seems to have been a fairly constant factor or inspiration, but presents of food, an indispensable accompaniment of a ceremonious visit to a chief, would naturally be taken by worshippers waiting on their god. *Kava*, always presented to a chief on a ceremonial occasion, was also taken to the gods. The initial rite of worship was a *kava* drinking. A ceremonial *kava* drinking is a presentation to some person, usually the greatest chief in the gathering. If a number of people pay a visit to a chief they take *kava* to him, some of which will be prepared and drunk then and there, though all may not share in it. The visiting party and the chief to whom the visit is made, with his retainers, will drink together, precedence in drinking being strictly observed in accordance with rank, although the order is not a merely numerical one; for example, the third bowl is very commonly the most chiefly of all, and even further down, the fifth or seventh, etc., may take precedence of those earlier in the list. The due ordering of these matters is one of the things in which the chiefs' *matabules*, or gentlemen attendants, are expected to possess expert knowledge. Another prized qualification of a *matabule* is a full clear voice with which to call, in a kind of loud intonation, the person to whom the bowl is to be taken, the number of baskets of food presented, to whom the several portions are to be taken when the distribution is made, and the like matters. The chief to whom the *kava* drinking is a presentation is marked by his having the most chiefly bowl, commonly, though not always, the third, taken to him to drink, and a slight change in the words with which the *matabule* calls that bowl. In the case of the *kava* drinking with which

16: Collocott M-5 (no date) 1921 OU9 Tonga OU9

period of which we have information totemism has given way to a more highly developed polytheism, but there are indications that the development was by way of totemism. There are the usual restrictions on the eating of the sacred animal, though some fish which enjoyed a certain amount of sanctity were used for food by those in whose eyes they were sacred. The whole question of fishing was edged about with *tabus*, the consideration of which would lead us too far afield from the matter in hand. But I have not yet been able to positively ascertain whether the species of a fish in which a god was actually embodied was ever eaten by his devotees. For instance, there is more than one shark deity, but I know of only one clan who refrained from eating shark from religious motives. The two most famous shark gods manifest themselves in sharks which are not used as food, and, are in fact altogether exceptional, and probably purely mythical fish. Putting aside a few fish, which, if not actually the vehicles of gods, were at all events the subject of special *tabus*, the prohibition of the eating of the sacred animal is general and clear. A highly respected native minister of the Methodist Church informs me that to this day he gets a headache if he eats the sacred animal of his clan, though it is esteemed a delicacy by those who have the good fortune to be exempted from the *tabu*, and probably most who are not.

There is an old story which is perhaps a fragment from an ancient and forgotten body of lore in which the totem plays an important part in the impregnation of the woman of his clan. The tale of the birth of the lovely Vae, who became so beautiful that there was not her equal in the whole of Tonga, relates that during her mother's pregnancy the food for which she craved was the rail. The idiom used to express such cravings of a pregnant woman might be translated with strict accuracy, so far as the form of expression goes, as the food by which she was pregnant, or had conceived. The present day Tongan, however, uses the expression without any idea of pregnancy having been caused by the object in question, but merely as indicating the fastidious liking of a delicate woman for a special food. The god of Vae's father was the dove, and before the mother had given birth to her child the parents embarked on a voyage, taking with them the dove god. On the way the expectant mother, in her longing for her favourite dish, asked her husband for a rail. He, rather exasperated at so unreasonable a request out at sea, screwed the neck of his god and gave his wife a meal of dove. Being compelled by stress of weather to put in at an island, the mother there gave birth to her child, which to her disgust was marked on the face by the dove's head. In her chargin at this disfigurement she abandoned the infant, a little girl, at the foot of a tree when the voyage was resumed. The remainder of the story, telling of the child's adoption by a couple on the island, the disappearing of the

21: Simkin U-5 (no date) 1945 OU9 Tonga OU9

bureaucratic state rather than to the emergence of real popular government. The fervour for church activities sometimes suggests that the people are finding an escape from temporal problems in spiritual enthusiasm. To a certain extent modern conditions have blocked the old outlets for personal ambition and have not completely provided new ones. Tonga often appears to be too shut in on itself, too removed from outside influences, and particularly from contacts with other Polynesian peoples.

Those tendencies are likely to be reversed, and these dangers averted, only if a sustained and confident effort is made to realise the country's many possibilities for social development. Nothing, of course, should ever be done which prejudices Tonga's political and economic independence, or which threatens its cultural integrity; but within these wide limits Tonga's leaders have the opportunity of securing improvements, not only in standards of living, but in the whole standard of life.

half of these were sharing 'api tukuhau with their in-laws.

The migrant appears welcome to stay in the local household as long as he wishes and it is not unusual for him to do so for several years. There is rarely any question of payment for board or for the use of 'api kolo or 'api tukuhau though by mutual, unspoken understanding the migrant will supply a share of the food or contribute in other ways towards family expenses. Even when it is possible to live elsewhere and so avoid kin obligations, few choose to do so.

Table III

The Migrant and Access to Land, 1963-4

	Migrants[a] %	Total Household Questionnaire %
Registered 'Api Kolo	38	57
Registered 'Api Tukuhau in Tongatapu	18	49
Registered 'Api Tukuhau elsewhere[b]	13	6
Sharing 'Api Tukuhau	42	25
No use of 'Api Tukuhau	27	20
No use of 'Api Tukuhau in Tongatapu	40	31
Number in Sample	74	107

[a] Based on Employment and Household Questionnaires.

[b] Application for an 'api in Tongatapu requires a previous cancellation of titles elsewhere.

The hierarchy of Tongan family relations is such that a young relative tends to feel more relaxed with close relations on his mother's side (fa'e tangata). These relations are under some obligation to him whereas he is obligated to his father's eldest sister (mehekitanga) and to a lesser extent to all his father's relations. It is natural, then, that a migrant will endeavour to stay with his mother's people. As one informant put it, "You feel closer to your mother's side because you are above them."

It is significant that few migrants considered they had any special problems of adjustment on arrival. The strength and importance of kin ties in this pattern of chain migration is best seen in the migrants' own comments:

"I had relations here. The burden was easier."
"I had no problems because my elder brother was here."

154
602
166 "I would stay even if I had no job. My sister is here."

464 Although an uneducated migrant probably has more difficulty in obtaining employment, migrants with secondary education have no more difficulty than the locally-born. The migrant's prospects for employment depend, along with all Tongans, on his education and the extent and importance of his kin. Migrants tend to be less involved in agriculture because they have more difficulty in obtaining registered land. They are, therefore, slightly more active in commerce, the produce boards, in certain tertiary areas and in a miscellanea of backyard jobs which are termed part-manufacturing and processing.

156 Most migrants intend to remain in Nuku'alofa and tend to feel
[186] they belong there. The reasons for "belonging" are illuminating and
[171] should further discredit the view that Polynesians have some sort of mystic attachment to their place of birth, an attachment which supposedly outweighs more mundane considerations. "I belong to Nuku'alofa because I can support my children here", was how one informant expressed his feelings, while another in a much more sweeping statement merely said, "Nuku'alofa has everything". Belonging to
602 Nuku'alofa does not, however, mean that the migrant severs his ties with the home island. He belongs more to his family than to a place. It was the institution of the family which supported him on arrival in Nuku'alofa and, once established and part of the family chain, he now
602 assists close relations who remain on the home island. Gifts and
431 visits were exchanged by over three-quarters of those interviewed (see Table IV) and most not participating in such contact either had no
574 close relation remaining in the home island or were young people whose obligations were for the present assumed by older brothers or sisters living in Nuku'alofa. This contact is reciprocal and only stops with the death or migration of the close relations involved.

Table IV

Close Family Gifts and Visits between Islands

	Yes	No	Not Stated
Gifts to Islands	39	18	-
Gifts from Islands	31	24	2
Visits to Islands	41	16	-
Visits from Islands	42	15	-

Number in Sample 57

369 It is the migrant, through his kin, who maintains the closest cultural links between town and country in Tonga. As considerably more than a half of the town's population is so involved, it is not surprising that rural and peasant modes and concepts continue to flow

75: Beaglehole E-5 (1938-1939) 1940 OU9 Tonga OU9
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as an illustration of an attack that might well be more fruitful in other and more competent hands.[3]

Dreams and Psychic Stress

Dreaming occurs fairly frequently among the villagers of Pangai. Men had no hesitation in telling their dreams to us or else recording them for us. The women, however, were much shyer and it was only by considerable perseverance that Pearl Beaglehole was able to record any dreams at all from women informants. There is no reason for thinking that women dream less than men. Many dreams seem to be in terms of conventional cultural symbols and are given a conventional interpretation by the Tongans. Thus for a husband to dream of money or a ring is a sign that his wife is pregnant. Dreams portending death, usually of a member of the family or some other close relative, are those of teeth falling out (said to be a common type of dream), dreams of feces on the body, dreams of touching or handling a hen's egg.[4] Dreams of approaching fire or of slipping down into a bottomless pit are terror dreams, generally interpreted as warnings of possible punishment should the dreamer continue to commit minor sinful acts. One informant also stated that dreams could be used to validate medicinal recipes. His mother's father was visited by a female spirit in a dream and given a successful recipe to cure barrenness and sterility in women.

Wish-fulfilment dreams appear to be frequent and capable of easy interpretation. The following are examples of this type of dream:

Case 1.—Avai, a boy of 18, home on vacation from a Seventh-Day Adventist College in Nukualofa, reported to me several dreams in which "a girl friend" appeared and offered herself to him in sexual intercourse. Tongan sexual morality among young people is relatively strict. Avai had previously been asked to leave the Government College, Nukualofa, for absenting himself at night from the college. He had determined to reform, but the occurrence of this type of dream suggests that his reforming zeal was not without its intrapsychic conflict.

Case 2.—Loata, a woman of about 35, our next-door neighbor and one very poor, even according to Tongan standards, narrated the following dream to Pearl Beaglehole: "You brought me a beautiful new dress as a gift and also a lot of pins to fasten it together after it had been fitted. My daughter Saane (6 years old) ran away with the pins, and when I chased her she suddenly changed into Saane Tapaka (a girl of 18 employed by us as housegirl, with the same first name as the daughter—we had previously given Saane T. a dress). I could not catch her, and when I came back to my house to get the dress I found you had gone and the dress was nowhere to be found." This dream is, I think, self-explanatory. Loata dressed for the most part in rags because her husband was too poor to buy new piece goods at the village store.

Case 3.—Kafa, a young woman of 18 years, married for two years without yet becoming pregnant (a rarity in Tonga), confesses to many dreams in which she gives birth to and nurses an infant. She also dreams occasionally that her husband, the local storekeeper and a hardworking man, has eloped

[3] Field work on which this paper was based was carried out in Tonga, December, 1938, to February, 1939. Pearl Beaglehole and I lived in the village of Pangai, Vava'u, a small Tongan community about six miles distant from Neiafu, government and trading center for Vava'u, the northern group of Tongan islands, 170 miles away by sea from Nukualofa, capital of the Tongan kingdom. The population of Pangai is about 270. Pearl Beaglehole helped me collect the material here recorded. Dr. J. C. Lopdell, Assistant Medical Officer, Vava'u, kindly gave me the information on which Case 10 (below) is based.

[4] E. W. Gifford, "Tongan Society," *Bishop Museum Bull.* 61, 1929, pp. 337–338, gives several further examples.

75: Beaglehole E-5 (1938-1939) 1940 OU9 Tonga OU9
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with another woman. The first dream is patently a wish-fulfilment dream with an undercurrent of anxiety that becomes obvious in Kafa's second dream. The longer she remains without a child, the less secure she can feel in her husband's affections.

Case 4.—Heu, a woman of 30, long married but still without children, dreams that we are leaving Pangai and give her a baby girl as a farewell gift. She weeps over our departure but is glad she at last has a baby. She goes to get food for the baby, but, when she returns a moment later, the baby is gone. In her annoyance she beats her father's father, who lives in her house, accusing him of losing the baby. Then she awakes crying. This dream again is obviously motivated by the desire of a childless woman for children. Her paternal grandfather is very old and needs much attention and nursing. Making him responsible for the loss of a cherished gift enables the dreamer to vent on the old man some of the resentment she occasionally feels for him, but as quickly suppresses, during waking hours. A feeling of guilt over this causes her to awake in tears and feeling, as she added, that she "had done something very bad."

Anxiety dreams also seem to be common among these villagers. Many of these dreams seem to relate to anxieties over religious matters. These I shall consider later. Others appear to have a number of different motivations of which the following are examples.

Case 5.—Dream of Tui, married man of about 27. In his dream Tui saw a family picnic where he and his wife and baby, together with his mother-in-law and Sigaleti (his *fa'e tangata*, mother's brother), were present. After the picnic was finished, he sent his wife and mother-in-law inland to collect coconuts. He then mounted his horse and Sigaleti with his baby mounted another. They went along the beach and made the horses swim out to sea. It became dark and he lost sight of Sigaleti, but he continued to swim his horse until he arrived at Ha'apai (the middle islands of the Tongan group, some seventy miles distant from Pangai). There he saw Sigaleti and the baby on the beach. They rode down a village road until they came to the house where a white man lived with his wife. The baby began to cry with hunger. Tui lifted the baby from the horse and asked the white people for water. They had none, but they offered European food, which Tui fed to his baby with a spoon. At first the baby refused this new food, but later it ate eagerly. Then some relatives came by. One of them, another brother of his mother, walked toward him carrying a little girl. As he watched, his relative and the little girl fell into a deep pit. He rushed toward them because suddenly the little girl looked just like his own baby. He could not see them. He woke feeling depressed and sad.

It is possible to interpret this dream, I think, if I mention the fact that it was dreamed two days after Tui, a very intelligent man, had been discussing with us European methods of feeding and bringing up children. There is a heavy infantile mortality in Tonga and we had been propagandizing among the brighter Tongans for the exercise of more care in infant feeding (orange juice and cow's milk, for example, instead of half-cooked pork and taro and deadly teething powders). Many of our friends were quite receptive to this idea though they felt it would require much education and effort to put into practice. Tui was also extremely attached to his infant daughter. Doubtless a feeling of anxiety over his inability to do what Europeans with their great prestige thought best for his child gained expression in this dream. He symbolically dismisses his wife and mother-in-law, representative of current Tongan methods of infant care, and finds the desired foods for his child, only

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to find in the end that a representative of this method, a mother's brother, claims the child and perhaps kills it by accident. The whole of this dream provides a good example of the way in which specific anxieties arising from specific aspects of a more generalized clash of cultural standards obtain a certain justification, sometimes a resolution, in dream symbolism.

Two further dreams suggest interesting anxiety symbols, though I was unable to get the dreamer to recall data of his childhood years in sufficient number to advance a definite interpretation.

Case 6.—Dream of Potemani, married man of about 36 years. He dreamed he was in Nukualofa with his mother, whom he was shortly to leave on his return to Pangai. He and his mother were walking down a bush path when he suddenly saw a huge tree about to fall on top of them. He was terror-stricken, but his mother told him not to fear. With a small stick she propped up the large tree and they walked safely past. Three times this happened. The dreamer awoke in fear, and the dream has returned since with all the terror of a nightmare.

Later Potemani had another type of terror dream. He saw indistinctly in his dream an elderly man who was threatening to strike a group of small children with a large bush knife. Presently the dreamer heard the old man strike one of the boys. He distinctly heard the crack of a leg bone as the knife sheared through the leg; he struggled to see what was happening, but he could not. He awoke frightened by the dream.

A not too fanciful analysis of these two dreams might, I think, discern in them certain symbols for a father imago. The first dream particularly seems transparent if we interpret it in Freudian symbols. In this connection, too, it may be noted that dreams in which a father appears do not seem uncommon among our informants. Thus Avai (see Case 1 above) said that while he was in college in Nukualofa he had occasional dreams in which he saw his father as a corpse lying dead. He awoke from these dreams crying and frightened. Another informant, Sione, also reported a long and involved dream in which he found himself at his grandfather's funeral feast eating the flesh of a large, fat, delicious horse. Potemani's second dream is also not one that stands alone. Children's nightmare dreams seem largely to include either being chased by large animals (a horse or a bull) or else by a man often armed with a large bush knife. Dr. J. C. Lopdell, Assistant Medical Officer for Vava'u, also informed me of the case of a boy of 8 years brought to him for the treatment of a persistent night terror which consisted in terror dreams of being chased by a man with a bush knife. This boy, incidentally, was being severely disciplined by an irascible father. Marked improvement occurred only when Dr. Lopdell succeeded in modifying this discipline by persuading the father to treat the boy in a more gentle and kindly fashion. I suspect, therefore, that psychic stress conditioned by the necessities of adjusting to the rather strict morality of the average Tongan home may well result in the type of dream reported by Potemani.

Another type of dream in which symbolism of a different emotional value suggests a Freudian interpretation is the following:

Case 7.—A dream of Sione, an unmarried man of about 20. The dreamer found himself in a working party with his eight brothers, hoeing rows of yams. The missionary (Free Church of Tonga), Pili, comes up to the workers, praising some, criticizing others. He tells all the workers to go to the village. Suddenly Sione finds himself inside a house where a feast of food is laid on the floor. He goes outside and sees the missionary's wife coming toward him with a large saucepan full to the brim with money. Pili tells the dreamer to

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lighted. She walked down the narrow road and saw at the end a burning house inside of which many of her relatives were being burned alive. She asked them if she should open the door to allow them to escape. They called out to her to run away, that she was not wanted. She ran down the road and awoke feeling very frightened. 159

Ana was then serving as our housegirl. Being a Roman Catholic, she was being educated at a convent, but was home on holiday. She was being courted on the sly by Avai, a second cousin, a member of the Free Church of Tonga. Her mother disapproved of Avai and in any case wished her to marry a Roman Catholic man only after she had attended school for some years further. Ana was using the privilege of being our housegirl, and thus directly out of her mother's guardianship for most of the day, to arrange occasional meetings with Avai in or about our cookhouse. It was obvious that she found the stolen meetings sweet even though well aware that Avai should carry on his courting, according to Tongan practice, only when a chaperon was present and, preferably, in her mother's house. This conflict is presumably adequate motivation for Ana's dream, the two roads symbolizing her temptation, burning in fire the reward of sinners, and rejection by her relatives symbolizing the manner in which she might have to quarrel with them should she allow the courtship to continue. 159 154 571 [582]

I have record of twelve further dreams given to us by informants within the course of a single week, in each of which religious symbolism is plain and usually refers to anxieties over church teaching—the end of the world, punishment of sinners, worries over interdoctrinal differences. These anxieties often appear to be increased by the fact that the relatives of the dreamer belong to other sects than the dreamer's, and so, to one who takes his religion seriously, intellectual disagreement is heightened by the necessity of believing that one's relatives are indubitably headed straight for an eternal hell fire. Two dreams may be given to illustrate the patterning of this form of emotional conflict over sectarianism. 154 771 [602]

Case 9.—Dreams of Sigaleti, married man about 58 years old. The dreamer and many of his friends were sitting in a large Tongan house that had two open doorways. Suddenly, a large sheet of fire came rapidly toward the house. A man stood up ordering Sigaleti to leave by one door, his friends by the other. Outside the house Sigaleti saw the flames devouring all his friends. 159

The second dream: The dreamer saw an angel flying in the sky. In one hand it carried a book, in the other a sword. The angel alighted on the ground. Suddenly, Sigaleti saw a man named Povai (a relative, Roman Catholic) reading from the book, and he heard the words: "There are three men. Two shall live and one shall die." Sigaleti asked for the book, but the angel flew away.

The religious phrasing of both these dreams is clear. Sigaleti is a somewhat morose and dour-looking Tongan. He rarely smiles, wearing instead a look of patient and absorptive brooding that is uncommon in the Tongan. He took every opportunity to ply us with questions about religious matters, disputes over Christian doctrine and the like. Immediately before he had these dreams, Sigaleti had left the Free Wesleyan Church and had joined the Free Church. The first dream appears to provide obvious justification for the change (a change, incidentally, that provoked much discussion, criticism, and gossip in the village); the second dream suggests that Sigaleti is worrying about the validity of Roman Catholicism. That these interpretations are not purely subjective on my part is supported by the fact that when I outlined them for Sigaleti he confessed quite voluntarily that he wished he could take his mind off religious matters but that he thought of them day and night. 157 159 771

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will be the King of the Second House (Tu'i Fale Ua). If 'Aho-'eitu's line should die out then the King of the Second House will become King. (This is the rationale for the belief, mentioned above, that the last Tu'i Tonga bequeathed his kava prerogatives to the King of the Second House.) There are several other myths and legends that purport to show that all through Tongan history the descendants of the King of the Second House tried to murder 'Aho'eitu's descendants in order to wipe out his line.

Using the leads provided by this myth, I think that the chewing or, nowadays, the pounding of the kava is a symbolic repetition of psychic cannibalism, representing a desire both to get possession of the qualities of the beautiful envied brother and son and to destroy him. This mixture of admiration, greed, and destructive envy is a familiar theme from the analysis of the cannibalistic fantasies of patients. But of course in the ceremony it is kava that is pounded or chewed, not a person; this symbolic transformation is taken up in the kava myth.

The idea that the pounding of the kava may represent cannibalistic destruction of an envied object, a brother or son, is consistent with the fact that the people in the outer group, who used to chew and now help to pound the kava, stand in the relation of 'child' or 'younger brother' to the titleholders of the main circle.[10] In other words, the kava plant is presented to the presiding chief as 'Aho'eitu was presented to his father. The father then sends the kava/son to be destroyed. The destruction is carried out by 'children', though perhaps also by 'younger brothers' (of the 'father') – an indication that people in the 'father' category are involved in the destruction. The father's envy and destructiveness are hinted at in the myth, for the father at first thinks his son is of higher rank, and then sends him to his other sons without introduction. He immediately suspects his other sons of murder and cannibalism, as if the thought were not far from his own mind. So far as I could discover none of this is conscious. That is, participants in the ceremony are aware to some extent of their envy and jealousy

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of one another, and most of them know the two myths, but they do not consciously link the two sets of knowledge.

In the 'Aho'eitu myth incorporation and destruction are followed by healing water and the awakening of good feeling. Once this has taken place the kava is served, that is, the experience can be re-incorporated in a form that is soothing and tranquillizing. But the transformation is not always successful, for strong green kava sometimes makes people want to vomit. In other words, the method of preparing the kava can be seen as an effort to convert envy and jealousy into remorse and affection, to change poisonous feelings into feelings of tranquillity and harmony. But other myths and legends make it clear that envy and jealousy can never be overcome entirely and permanently, just as they can never be eradicated from everyday life. The feelings appropriate to cannibalism are here to stay. Envy, greed, and jealousy are always with us, but so are admiration and remorse. Conflict is inevitable. The kava ceremony states the particular Tongan variant of this general human dilemma and tries to communicate the idea that the forces of love can be made stronger than the forces of hate, at least temporarily. Once again, people do not think all this out consciously. They feel there is something good about the ceremony, something healing, but no one phrases it in terms of reparation to a damaged object and the re-incorporation of the whole experience.

As with the kava myth, there are many other possible interpretations of the 'Aho'eitu myth. One version of the myth, for example, goes into considerable detail about the way the brothers threw 'Aho'eitu's head into a bush, which caused the bush to become poisonous. Perhaps this is a way of talking about castration, with the customary theme of power residing in the cut-off head/phallus. There is a great deal of ambiguity in the myth about who is killing whom. Obviously the half-brothers kill 'Aho'eitu, but he is the father's favourite so they are attacking the father as well. The father himself sends 'Aho'eitu to his death, as I have indicated above. And what of

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the mother far away in Tonga? 'Aho'eitu is her only son, so she is being attacked and perhaps destroyed. But it is she who tells 'Aho'eitu how to get to heaven in the first place. And what of the link with the kava myth itself in which a daughter is destroyed? Is it a daughter only or also a mother in disguise?

I do not think one can select any particular interpretation as the 'right' one. None of them can be 'proved' or 'disproved', at least not by the methods appropriate to the consulting-room, nor by any other method that I could think of at the time. In the consulting room, where the two partners to the relationship are supposed to be discovering psychic truth, however painful and improbable, one can make interpretations about unconscious cannibalism or unconscious desires to castrate a brother, and judge from the patient's reactions whether the interpretations are close to home or wide of the mark. One always has the transference situation, of which one has direct experience, as a yardstick against which the manifest content of the patient's material can be compared. In Tonga I was often aware of transference, especially of the more obvious aspects of it: the attitude that I was a foreigner with whom a cultural 'front' had to be kept up; attempts to 'use' me in one way or another to gain some social end; the feeling that I was a sympathetic outsider with whom emotional burdens could be shared. But I never felt it appropriate to interpret the transference. I found I was prepared to raise such issues as the likelihood of hostility between rulers and subject, particularly with a very secure and much-loved monarch, but I was not prepared to try out interpretations of cannibalism or castration with anyone, so unprepared, in fact, that I could hardly think of such interpretations intellectually until I had left the field. The social situation I was in did not sanction such endeavours.

From among the many possible interpretations, I have emphasized the theme of cannibalism and reparation, of the destruction and restoration of a brother/son, because it seemed to me the most obvious, the most consistent with the events and the status differentials of the ceremony, and the most in

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276 574 154 accord with constellations of envy and rivalry in other aspects of Tongan social life. It helped to order the facts in a new and comparatively simple pattern that I had not seen before. But it seems very likely that at various times and to various Tongans any or all of the variants described above might be unconsciously meaningful. The ambiguity of myths and ceremonies is part of their point. It gives individuals some leeway to play with experience, to make culture their own possession.

276 574 182 571 The particular beauty of the kava ceremony, at least for me, is that it deals with problems on so many different levels at the same time. It clarifies social principles and roles. It puts a temporary brake on certain types of rapid change. It states and partly resolves problems of dependence and envy, and of interdependence and rivalry, some aspects of which are generated by the peculiarly Tongan system of social stratification, and some by the universal human attributes of having a capacity for thinking and feeling and being brought up in a society.

121 Small-scale societies tend to have multidimensional ceremonies of this type more frequently than we do. This suggests that time and continuity of shared experience are needed to build a ceremony that can transmit messages on many different levels at the same time. A long history of interpersonal contact and conflict makes possible the development of a symbolic statement in which universal human experiences are meaningfully linked with unique social circumstances.

000 In conclusion, I hope that I may have been able to interest you in taking a fresh look at ceremonies in our own society – at the coronation, for example, or at the elaborate ceremonial installation of the Lord Mayor of London as compared to the absence of ceremony in the installation of the head of the Greater London Council, at the Communion Service, at weddings, funerals, New Year's Eve parties, and so forth. Are roles dramatized and clarified? Is there a sense of continuity with the past? Is a symbolic form of expression provided for unspoken, or unformulated, or unconscious thoughts? Does the

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stylised etiquette to mark the different roles that a man or woman is playing at any one moment' (Gluckman, 1962, pp. 26–7).

8. In recent years anthropologists have devoted much attention to conflict and ambivalence and their expression in religion and ritual as well as in everyday affairs. See especially Fortes (1959); Gluckman (1955), (1963) especially the Introduction and Chapter 3 entitled 'Rituals of Rebellion in South-East Africa' and (1965), especially Chapter 6 entitled 'Mystical Disturbance and Ritual Adjustment'; Leach (1965); Turner (1957) and (1964).

One problem of particular relevance is that some rituals incorporate conflict directly into the prescribed events of the ritual whereas others, like the kava ceremony, imply conflict but do not prescribe its enactment. But a comparative discussion of this topic would lead me too far from the immediate problem of the kava ceremony.

9. On the differentiation of 'good' and 'bad' as part of normal psychic development, see especially W. R. Bion (1957), (1958), and (1962). See also Hanna Segal (1964). On the differentiation of symbol from object see Hanna Segal (1957).

10. The early accounts of kava ceremonies in which the kava was chewed instead of pounded do not specify whether the chewing was done only by the 'children' in the outer group or also by the 'younger brothers'. All we know is that the people who did the chewing were in the outer group and that a considerable number of them took part in the chewing. Nowadays only the kava maker does the actual pounding.

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"uniformity of cultural change with a certain margin of fluctuation" throughout the entire Archipelago.

Seen as a whole, the cultural change in Tonga has brought no collapse of the old way of life of the natives. It should rather be regarded as a steady development during which the previous order was modified and new values (along with the existing old ones) became the substance of life. The material and cultural loss caused by the change was replaced by something new--to the extent, at any rate, that for the modern Tongan men and women who were, after all, born into this development, the essential phases of which were long since completed, there was no noticeable gap. Rather, we see today a firmly established state and community in which almost everyone feels comfortable and secure and does not have any particular cares and privations; life for the majority of the people is even more worthwhile than it was in the past, while the nobility does not quarrel too much with its readjustment, the basis for which was already laid two generations ago.

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The necessary "adjustment change" resulting from the "change of circumstances" was all the easier for commoners because their traditional family and community life and their livelihood (from planting, domestic animal-raisng and fishing) scarcely changed in the villages, and because the change in religion was more an "exchange in a superior force that commanded respect," and because in many areas new and old attributes in a fortunate fusion. The nobility who, as a result of Christianization and democratization of the islands, lost considerable power, accepted what seemed unalterable, /289/ especially since, on the whole, it still enjoys a certain respect--at least formally--and also occupies the most important key positions in the government.

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The life of these natives shows no particular restlessness or tension, but rather a considerable balance of factors. The Tongans seem

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(154) to be neither physically nor psychically weakened by the change in their culture, or in their way of life.

The process of cultural change in Tonga is long past its beginning. The change in most areas has gone as far as was possible under the conditions, and a certain stabilization can be observed. The result is a new, sound and strong culture that is neither ancient Tongan nor European. Yet the development is by no means completed, but is still going on. It is noteworthy that the Tongans scarcely carry it further, but simply make use of it. We may thus speak of a "new order" that continues and is further developed almost entirely by advice and teaching, enticement and intervention on the part of Europeans. A creative development of their own, but for a few exceptions that seem unimportant, (5)

5. For example, in the material culture, the transverse hatchet fale-vatu (pp. 200-202), the lead sinker for fishnets (pp. 270-272), the iron coconut scraper (pp. 289-291), cigars (sulu'ka) (pp. 297-298), the copra knife (pp. 300-301) and the koka scraper (pp. 326-328); these things (or some of them) the Tongans could also have borrowed from the other archipelagos!

is not to be noted. This has its cause chiefly in the nature of these human beings. But one must also consider that the time for a further development has been relatively brief, (6)

6. The inner relationship to that which was taken over is, to a certain extent, still lacking, for it has not been entirely internalized.

that the Archipelago lies rather isolated in the ocean, and the environment of these people is not stimulating, that the Islands have no mineral resources and that no climatic or other special pressures stimulate the islanders and spur them on to a further development of what they have received.

(182) As for the command of their environment, these natives still